where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[23] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi* [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[24] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

[23] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).

[24] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 29.

[P. 16 (B)]

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The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter
[166] and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of
[172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family
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192 groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki* this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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meet at the appointed place on a given day, the younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when selecting sites for their villages. The first thing they considered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be said at every stage of its production. He told me that

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The principal Japanese settlements are Sapporo, Hakodate, and Nemuro. The population of the island is confined almost entirely to the coast. Small villages of Japanese and Ainos are scattered along the coast a few miles apart, wherever the locations are favorable for fishing or collecting seaweed. On the northeast coast the principal towns are Mombets, Abashiri, and Shari. Between Hakodate and Nemuro are Kushiro, Horoidzumi, Tomakomai, and Horobets. On some of the larger rivers, as the Ishikari, the Kusuri, and the Tokachi, there are small settlements of Ainos. On routes of travel far up in the mountains there will be found isolated stations, where one can obtain shelter and food with changes of horses. Otherwise the interior is an uninhabited wilderness, the abode of bears, foxes, and other animals.

The total population of the Hokkaido, which is the official designation of that section of Japan which includes Yezo and the islands off the northeast coast, is stated as 226,230. I am unable to state the number of persons on the island of Yezo alone, but there are very few on Kumashiri and Yeterof, and the Kuriles are practically uninhabited. Of this number about 16,000 are said to be Ainos. The distribution of the Aino population will be more fully considered in another place.

The principal support of this population is the fisheries, which are of great value. The following statistics of the fisheries were kindly furnished from the official reports by Mr. K. Ito, president of the Hokusui Kyokwai, or Northern Fisheries Society:

FISHERIES OF YEZO—PRODUCTION OF 1886.

Fish.	Production.	Where exported.
	Koku.*	
Spring salmon, *Masu*, salted	5, 929, 489	Main island.
Fall salmon, *Sake*, salted	110, 729, 265	Do.
Beche de mer, *Iriko*	1, 927, 569	197,311 catties sent to China.
Seaweed, Kombu	186, 373, 249	29,050,567 catties sent to China.
Oysters, dried	4, 773, 040	All sent to China.
Fish guano:		
Herring	572, 374, 304	Other islands of Japan.
Salmon, *Masu*	15, 511	Do.
Iwashi (*Clupea melanostricta*)	22, 230, 300	Do.
Other kinds	14, 695, 711	Do.
Fish oil:		
Herring	7, 606, 905	Unknown amount exported to United States.
Iwashi	695, 600	Do.

* One koku of fish is about 333 pounds. One koku of oil is about 40 gallons.

THE AINOS.

The Ainos are a peculiar race, quite distinct from the Japanese now found; a mere remnant of a once numerous people in Yezo and on the islands Kumashiri and Yeterof. The application of the name Aino requires to be more carefully restricted than it has been. In Yezo we

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That this is an important consideration was well illustrated in my own experience. No doubt there are officials at Sapporo, the seat of government, and perhaps also in Hakodate, who can give such information, but I was quite unable to get any knowledge whatever as to the existence or non-existence of any considerable number of Ainos on the northeast coast of Yezo. I went to Hakodate intending to sail directly to Nemuro, and to go from there as far as possible to the north, but from the information I received at Hakodate, I was led to change my plan, and concluded to come back along the southeast coast over the well-known routes of travel. But at Nemuro I was so fortunate as to meet a gentleman who had been farther north, and from his observations I was led to resume my original plan, much to my satisfaction; for the Ainos of the south are well known to foreign travelers, while those in the north have scarcely been seen except by Japanese.

The population of the places mentioned below was very courteously given me by the local Japanese officials. There may be serious errors in spelling the names of villages, but I have endeavored to convey the sounds as well as I could catch them from the Hokaido Japanese, which it was always difficult for me to understand.

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
NEMURO.				
Bitekai	14			86
Shibetsu		20	20	40
KITAMI.				
Shari:				
Shimatokai	11	10	12	22
Shari	45	62	64	126
Yambetsu	7	11	9	20
Abashiri:				
Abashiri		14	8	22
Kitami Machi		21	18	39
Noyori		7	4	11
Notori		3	6	9
Nikuribaki		6	6	12
Mukudo		5	7	12
Naiyori		7	6	13
Tombetsu		6	6	12
Miboro		15	11	26
Kakumi		5	4	9
Dapi		9	8	17
Ponkigin		6	4	9
Kimitambi		9	9	18
Furumi		9	5	14
Tokoro	35	50	56	106
TOKACHI.				
Akkeshi:				
Wakkakecho		3	5	7
Matsubecho		61	55	116
Honsomura		2		2
Shinriowa		13	14	30

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Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
TOKACHI—continued.				
Tokachi:				
Tokachi	1	1	3	4
Obetsukowashi	9	18	13	31
Aioshi	3	3	4	6
Osanen	4	6	6	12
Tafukurai	30	54	41	95
Tobetsu	6	12	16	28
Kinashibu	10	23	17	39
Nakagawa:				
Nobutori	11	25	29	54
Horokenashibe	4	7	7	14
Pombetsu	20	45	47	92
Chiota	14	14	35	49
Yamuwatkahira	20	46	41	87
Ikanbetsu	13	28	42	70
Chirott	22	24	27	51
Betti	6	9	13	22
Kasai:				
Pushikobetsu	21	57	50	107
Memurobetsu	50	151	144	295
Sachinai	9	22	23	45
Urakorepi	3	7	8	15
Katou:				
Otofuke	31	79	81	160
Tobuti:				
Horofune	3	5	7	12
Taiki	5	19	15	34
Biroo:				
Moyori	40	84	77	161
HIDAKA.				
Urakawa	154			
Mitsuishi	67	540	580	1,120
Shidzunai	374	194	191	385
Nikap	136	778	891	1,669
		321	307	628
Saru:				
Sarufuto	9	34	27	61
Hiraka	27	75	77	153
Shinuhotsu	28	55	68	123
—— !	22	38	48	86
Pirsturi	61	103	104	207
—— !	34	77	88	165
! Nisi	37	80	93	173
! Ogashirunnaye	13	28	27	55
! Horonari	30	60	71	140
! Kashibetsu	10	28	20	48
Monbetsu	20	73	53	126
—— !	5	22	19	41
Gabari	25	56	66	122
Harubetsu	10	43	54	97
—— !	4	7	6	13
Shamani	62	170	158	328
Horoidzumi	23	27	28	55
ISHIKARI.				
Yuufutsu	240	490	531	1,020
Shirasi	132	296	271	567
Chitose	74	140	127	267

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Saghalin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the number of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon* in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 20 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces, and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same. The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other, 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yellow, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or god-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Ainu wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Ainu families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Ainu houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava.

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature.

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners.

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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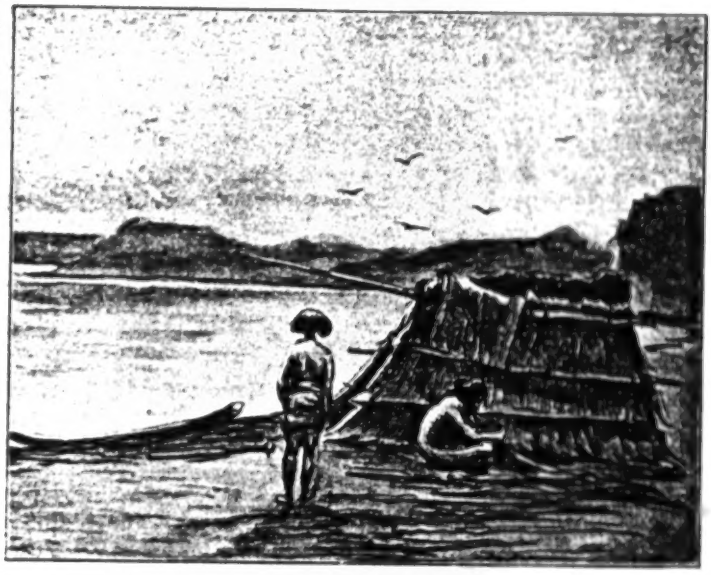

FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

●361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[553] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

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609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

excited fishermen. Myriads of sardines are caught each time the net is hauled in; and it is a fantastic scene to see the naked crowd which, in clearing the nets from the beheaded fish, get covered with silver scales, which stick to their arms, legs, and body, and give them a strange appearance.

Look-out towers are built on four high posts, where a watchman is posted to signal the arrival and approach of the shoals. The sea is so dense with them that it changes its colour, and these moving banks of sardines are distinguishable four or five miles from the coast. This method is the same as that adopted in Cornwall when the pilchards are expected, and the same discoloration of the sea takes place.

From Tomakomai a road branches to the north leading to Sappro, the capital of Hokkaido, and it is the last place on the southern coast which is visited by that rare specimen of the globe-trotter who ventures to Yezo. He hastily makes his way from here to Sappro and Otaru on the northern coast, and waits for a ship to be conveyed back to Hakodate. He then, of course, tells his friends that he has been round and about and through Yezo, while in fact he has seen absolutely nothing of Yezo or its inhabitants. About half-a-dozen Europeans, however, have been further on—as far as the Saru River; and each one has written a book on the Ainu, for the most part copying what the previous author had written.

As far as Tomakomai there is a road—a sure sign of civilisation—but nothing but a horse-track is to be found all along the southern coast after this place has been passed.

Changing my ponies at Yuhuts,[1] nine miles east, and again at Mukawa and Saru-buto, I was able to reach Saru Mombets that same night. Many Ainu and Japanese fishermen's huts are scattered between Horohuts[2] and Yuhuts, on the sandy track along the sea.

The traveller then leaves the sea on the right, and by a very uneven track, and after fording several rivers of little importance comes to Mukawa, a dirty little village fourteen miles from Yuhuts. My lunch that day consisted of a large piece of raw salmon, which was easily digested in riding nine more miles to Saru-buto. *Sharu* in Ainu, corrupted into Saru,

[1] *Yu*, springs; *kuts*, mouth of river.
[2] *Horo*, large; *kut*, *kuts*, *put*, the mouth of a river.

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STOREHOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

•361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

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[103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

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"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

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UTAROP ROCKS.

CHAPTER V.

From the Saru River to Cape Erimo.

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AFTER quitting Saru Mombets I was altogether out of the beaten tracks. The twenty-two miles to Shimokebo were monotonous in the extreme. High cliffs towered above me on the one side, and the sea stretched into infinity on the other. River after river had to be waded, the At-pets,[1] the Nii-pak-pets,[2] and the Shibe-gari-pets.[3] The Nii-pak-pets is wide and fairly deep. Near the At-pets river the Japanese Government has established a horse farm, in order to improve the breed of Yezo ponies. A few miserable Ainu huts are [361] scattered along the coast, and millions of scavenger crows, with their monotonous cries, seem to claim sovereignty over these shores. Near the Takae village, on the Nii-kap-pets, is an enormous perpendicular cliff, which, jutting out into the

[1] At-pets—Elm-tree river (*at*, elm-tree ; *pets*, river).

[2] Nii-pak-pets—also called Nakap-pets. *Nii*, a wood ; *pak*, under ; *na*, more ; *kap*, bark of tree.

[3] Shibe-gari-pets—Salmon-trout river.

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"Oh, those *sayono shto* (foreigners) are all born lunatics," said the voice of one who knew better.

The Shibegari River, at the mouth of which Shimokebo is situated, is also called Shibe-chari—"sprinkled salmon river." Very minute traces of gold are found in the river-sands and gravels, and also some well-developed brown garnet crystals and quartzite and phyllite pebbles. The gold, however, is not in sufficient quantity to enable it to be worked profitably. Seven and a half miles from Shimokebo the Japanese Government has another horse farm similar to that of the At-pets.

The travelling along the coast was heavy, and I could ride but slowly. I had to make the ponies go where the sand was wet along the beach, as there it was harder and they did not sink. This had its drawbacks, for the sea was very rough, and once or twice my ponies and I came very near being washed against the cliffs by some extra large wave. Instead of green banks, as between Tomakomai and Shimokebo, here were high cliffs of volcanic formation, with a narrow strip of sand at their foot.

The few Ainu along the coast were decidedly ugly. It was only now and then that in a sheltered nook I came across a hut or two of seaweed gatherers; and, still following the cliffs, I passed two or three small villages of a few houses each. After fifteen miles of this heavy track I reached the fishing station of Ubahu, where I was able to obtain some fresh horses. Prowling along the beach, I examined some of the Ainu canoes that had been drawn on shore. They might be divided into three classes—(*a*) the "dug-outs," used mostly

AINU LASHED CANOE.

for river navigation; (*b*) the lashed canoe; and (*c*) a larger kind used for sailing. The "dug-out" does not require explanation, as everyone knows that it is a trunk of a tree hollowed out in the shape of a boat, and propelled either by paddling or punting.

The lashed canoes are made of nine pieces of wood lashed

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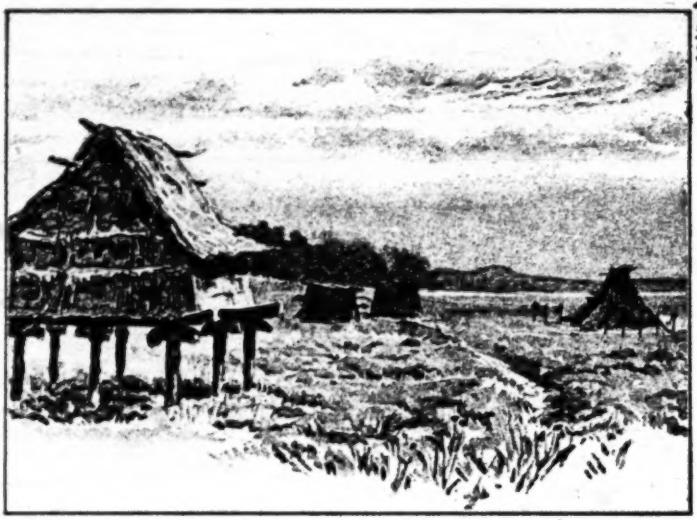

AINU HOUSES AND STOREHOUSE, FRISHIKORETS, TOKACHI RIVER.

CHAPTER VII.

The Tokachi Region—Pure Ainu Types—Curious Mode of River Fishing.

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THE Tokachi River is one of the largest and most important in Yezo. Knowing that the Ainu either settle on the sea-shore or up river-courses, I formed an idea that some good types were to be found up this river. On reaching Otsu, a small settlement at the mouth of the Otsugawa—a branch of the large delta formed by the Tokachi—my idea was confirmed by the report that there were no Japanese villages in the interior. The expedition up the Tokachi River was by no means easy from the accounts I heard at Otsu. None of the Japanese ever dare to penetrate into the interior from Otsu, and, so far as foreigners are concerned, the Tokachi River was utterly unexplored. There is a certain charm in being the first man to do something, and I decided to attempt the experiment. The Japanese of Otsu dissuaded me strongly from carrying out my plan ; for they said the grass and reeds were so high that I could not possibly get through.

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I came across several Ainu huts on my way, passed the village of Pensatsunai—six Ainu huts—on the Satsunai river, an affluent of the Tokachi, and then arrived at Obishiro in the afternoon. There are seven houses at Obishiro. I entered one of them, and to my astonishment I found myself in front of an old man and a pretty woman, whose appearance and manners were as refined as those of the better classes in Japan. A younger man also came in. Their astonishment was as great as mine, as they had not seen any civilised beings since they had been there. Though the outside of their dwelling was not prepossessing, the inside was so clean that I felt as if I had dropped into heaven. After what I had gone through, this unexpected *rencontre* brought me back to life and a belief in the proprieties of a civilised existence, almost forgotten by now!

These people had a romantic history. Watanabe Masaru—the younger man—was a Japanese gentleman by birth and education, but he had no fortune. Of an adventurous disposition, clever, sensitive, and tired of the conventionalities of his fatherland, he decided eight or ten years ago to emigrate to Hokkaido, and there lead the life of a colonist. The woman he loved was as brave and constant as he. She sailed with him and her father from Japan, and after a long and perilous journey in a junk (sailing boat), they landed at the mouth of the Tokachi River. In Ainu canoes they went up the river, and established themselves at Obishiro, far from civilisation, nearly in the centre of Yezo. At first they had a great deal of trouble with the natives, but now they are loved by all. There, with two lovely children, they lead an ideal life, far from the madding crowd and noise of the world, and freed from the vulgarity of society.

I rode on to Frishikobets village, situated on the Frishiko, "old river," and in the midst of a beautiful plain. There are only twenty-eight houses, and they are scattered about in the plain at a distance of several hundred yards one from the other. Some of the huts were hidden in the forest. A peculiarity of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi River is, that they frequently cover their dwellings and storehouses with the bark of trees, instead of with reeds, as is the custom among the Ainu of the Saru River and Volcano Bay.

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rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *U'par-penai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

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and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere meets with such simple, straightforward people as these Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata*; *puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district, and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day previous to my going through two men were killed in a row.

[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.
[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

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River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village, the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

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a region which, after all, is not difficult of access from the main island of Nippon. To the mineral products of the Kushiro district must be added the exports of fish (salmon and herrings), fish manure, and seaweed, which could be greatly increased if more practical processes were used.

The town of Kushiro itself is not picturesque. There are, I dare say, as many as five hundred houses, some built in Japanese, some in semi-foreign style. The streets are very wide, and along the main street rails have been laid to carry coal trucks from the Harutori mine down to the shipping point. Thus the town has a civilised appearance, which was artistically ugly enough, but refreshing to my eyes after my experiences along the south-west and south-east coasts. There are Ainu huts along the river banks, on the high lands, and on the strip of sand between Lake Harutori and the sea. Unfortunately, most of the Ainu here, being in the employ of the Japanese, have adopted Japanese clothes, customs, manners, and language. Nearly all the younger folks are half-castes. A select few have even gone so far as to forget their strongest national characteristic of dirt; and, to my great amazement, one day I saw an Ainu half-caste actually taking a hot bath. It may amuse the reader to learn of what this Japanese bathing accommodation generally consists. It is one of the features in nearly all fishing stations in Yezo, and it is worth describing.

When the day's work is over, one or more of the iron fish-kettles or caldrons used for extracting the oil from herrings are filled with water. These caldrons rest each on a cylindrical base of stones and clay, thus allowing a big fire of wood to be lighted under them. When the water has reached a high temperature, the bather either provides himself with an old pair of straw sandals (*waraji*), and steps in, or, placing a small board on the water, places his foot on it, and forces it down to the bottom of the caldron by his own weight. He thus avoids scalding his feet, which otherwise he would do severely. I have often seen two or three men (Japanese) placidly sitting up to their necks in the steaming water of the same caldron, with a huge fire burning under it; and several times I have been *warmly* invited by the bathers to join them, which *very warm* invitation, however, I invariably *coolly* considered and declined with thanks.

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Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

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in Yezo. My coat and trousers were showing signs of rapid decay, and I thought with vain desire of needle and thread, buttons and hooks. My boots were falling to pieces owing to their continual immersion in salt water. The impossibility of cleaning or greasing them added to the original damage; and, worse luck of all, they could not be replaced. Altogether, what with frayed garments, leaky boots, a battered hat, and a general out-at-elbows air, I was scarcely presentable in any society a grade above that of the hairy Ainu.

A road has been cut between Kushiro and Shibetcha, a distance of thirty miles; but though quite new, it is already out of repair, and it will not be long before it is washed away entirely. The Japanese Government does its best to open roads near the largest settlements, but Japanese officials do not seem to understand that after a road has been made it has to be kept in repair.

The country all along is good, and the soil seems rich and fertile. Nearly half-way up, on the east side of the Kutcharo River, are three lakes,—the Takkobe, the Tori Lake, and the Shirin. The Tori is the largest. Its length is five miles, its width about one mile. On the southern shore of this lake is a picturesque Ainu village, with its old tumble-down huts, and close to it is a group of Japanese houses. The contrast between the dirty and neglected old hovels of the Ainu and the clean, spruce, and somewhat finikin houses of the Japanese is very striking. In this difference we read an epitome of the way in which civilisation has travelled from primitive barbarism. The road runs through dense forests; but in several places, especially on its highest level, we come to lovely views of mountain scenery, towering over the shimmering water of the underlying lakes.

In the evening I reached Shibetcha, a nice little place, constructed on each side of a large road which rises considerably as it goes through the village. The village lies in a small valley surrounded by moderately high mountains, and is on the western side of the Kutcharo River, which intersects the valley. A wooden bridge and a three-storied Japanese tea-house are the two main structures in the place. There are sixty-eight houses in the village, and nearly half of them are houses of ill-fame, the three-storied tea-house being the principal.

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Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far from the sea.

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but, like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows, and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo, I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts, and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I led out into the open air to see what they were like. They appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity, but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely racial and congenital.

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Ainu having informed me that it was very far, and that I could only reach it at night. I crossed the stream in a "dug-out," and found the track on the other side. I walked fast, for the most part through a thickly-wooded country, and at about sunset I reached Tetcha. The distance from Kutcharo, I should think, is about ten or twelve miles. Tetcha is an Ainu village, near which a few Japanese houses have been built. The Kutcharo River intersects it, and the sulphur train from Yuzan stops here to take water on its way to Shibetcha. The train had gone through some hours previously, and I was left the alternative of walking on to Shibetcha, twenty miles further, or of sleeping at Tetcha. I had walked twenty or twenty-two miles already that day, and I felt in very good form. I knew that it would be full moon that night; and walking through a forest by moonlight has always had a great charm for me. Watching the shadows, with their thousand different fantastic forms, running in and out through the trees and playing round them, has the same weird fascination for me as one of Tieck's tales, or the suggestive music of an æolian harp. Some of the Ainu and a Jap entreated me not to attempt to cross the forest at night, for wolves and bears were numerous, they said, and in all probability I should be attacked by them. This last announcement, which I was destined to hear every day in Yezo, and which, of course, I did not believe, decided me to go, and I started.

"But," cried after me the astonished Japanese, "*anata micci wakarimasen!*"—"You do not know the way!"

"*Kamaimasen, Sayonara!*"—"It little matters; good-bye!" was my reply; and I left him standing there perplexed, looking after me as if I had been a phenomenon.

The Japanese in Yezo and the Ainu never on any account travel far at night; and as for going through a forest alone, unprotected, and without knowing the way, they evidently regarded it as something more reprehensible than folly. Two days previously, when in the train, I had noticed that the railway described a curve several miles long, and I knew then that by cutting across I could considerably shorten my way. When I entered the forest, the sun with its last rays was casting warm tints on the tops of the pine-trees. Everything

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left, as by pulling the rope hard, and thus squeezing the animal's nose, its head is turned in the direction in which it is pulled, and it is soon taught that this is the way it must go. Furthermore, should the pony bolt, it can be stopped by pulling its head close to its haunches, thereby making it impossible to continue its race. In the latter case it often happens, especially with an untrained pony, that it will spin round, trying to stretch its twisted neck by pushing its head away from the side of its body, and the result is generally a bad fall of horse and rider.

Another thing of which one ought to be careful is to keep one's legs out of the reach of the brute's teeth; for it is not infrequent that instead of the man punishing the animal, the animal revenges itself on the man; and the incautious traveller realises Sydney Smith's position, and finds that to a Yezo pony, as well as to an English cart-horse, "all flesh is grass."

From Riruran, for about fifteen miles, the way is merely a mountain track; and I dare say that in fine weather the scenery along it is picturesque. Unfortunately, when I went through, the fog had become more and more intense, and I saw very little of the landscape. At places the track led down to the sea, and then mounted up again over cliffs and high lands. As the mist, which came in gusts and waves, deepened or lightened in intensity, the rugged precipitous rocks, formed mostly of conglomerate, sandstone, and breccia, took all sorts of fantastic forms. Along the coast were many Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes and by Japanese. The Ainu were once very numerous in this district, but few of them are to be found now. The few remaining ones have yielded to the more civilised Japanese, and have become their servants. They are used as menials in most of the fishing stations, always acting under the directions of Japanese masters. Very frequently they are employed as tenders of horses, and in some places as guides for traders and travellers from one station to another.

Not far from Riruran the mouths of two lagoons have to be crossed, the larger of which is called Saruffo-Ko, or "Lake in a grassy plain." Cranes, swans, and ducks are numerous in these lagoons.

The track continues mostly over cliffs and mountains till

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

convinced that the captain was under an hallucination. I could only see rock after rock, huge pillar after huge pillar; but no entrance whatever.

"We are just going in," said the captain, laughing at my astonishment, and he gave orders to the quartermaster at the wheel to steer straight for one of the pillars. We were but a few yards from it when our craft was made to swing rapidly on her starboard side, and we turned round a gigantic shoulder of rock, to find ourselves in a narrow channel. One minute later we were in a pretty circular harbour, surrounded by high peaks—in fact, a kind of "fiord." The access to this harbour is certainly difficult to find, but when you are fairly in, it is seen to afford a well-sheltered anchorage. It has more the appearance of a small mountain lake than that of a sea-harbour; and undoubtedly it is a submerged crater. It is perfectly circular, and very deep, but not of large capacity. Directly opposite the entrance, on the shore, is a small narrow valley, on which is situated the village of the Kurilsky Ainu. Four men rowed me ashore, and I went to the village.

When the Japanese imported these Kurilsky Ainu to Shikotan, they allowed them to build their huts in their own way; but this done, a railing with a gate was erected, closing the entrance of the valley which overlooks the harbour, thus preventing the poor wretches from abandoning the island to resume their migratory habits, and return to their more northern homes. Inside this gate two rows of huts, exactly similar to those of the Yezo Ainu, have been constructed by the exiles. There are sixteen huts altogether, and not a single one of them is built over a pit. In Chapter IX. I have fully explained the characteristics and mode of living, which leaves no doubt as to these people being proper Ainu, and not pit-dwellers, as some have asserted; though of course their type is slightly modified by external conditions—a common occurrence in all races. Take a Londoner, a provincial, and a sea-man, and though they be all three Englishmen, one will have a washed-out look, the other will be healthy and strong, but not so sturdy, wiry, and weather-beaten as the sailor. The same natural process is at work with this tribe of Ainu. They conform their life according to circumstances and places; and though they possess the same general characteristics as the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

above the sea-level. The soil all along is very marshy, and the numerous little rivulets and rivers are extremely troublesome to cross. My pony was continually sinking into and struggling out of mud-holes, into which it had fallen when wading across these small watercourses, sometimes not more than a few feet wide. I pushed on as far as Shimbets, where there are only a shed and a couple of Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes. I had to put up here for the night, and by the light of a wick burning in a large oyster-shell filled with fish-oil I wrote a few notes in my diary. The fleas in that house were something appalling. The next morning I had some fun with a wild pony, which I received in exchange for the tired animal I had brought.

"Nobody can get on him," said the Ainu half-caste, "but if you think you can ride him he will go like the wind."

It took all hands in the small village to get the pack-saddle and baggage on to his back, and after we had tied him to a post and lashed his fore legs together I mounted. By instalments he was untied, let loose, and then afforded us some real fun. He revolved, bucked, kicked, stood on his hind legs, and did his very best to bite my legs and knock me off the saddle. A small fence was kicked and smashed into a thousand bits, and he even attempted to enter the huts—anything to get rid of his rider; but he did not succeed. His next trick was to plunge into the river close by, and when he reached the middle to shake himself violently. He then came out on the other side, and, turning his head, saw as well as felt that I was still on his back; then he neighed as if in great distress, and bolted. He galloped along the small track, and really did go "like the wind." As a punishment I made him keep up the pace even when he was tired of his contumacy, and in less than no time I reached Shibets, ten miles distant from where I had started.

Shibets is a village of one hundred Japanese houses and twenty Ainu huts. The Ainu here have almost altogether adopted Japanese clothes, as well as something of the Japanese style of living. The river which goes by the same name is notable for the quantity and good quality of salmon caught in it, and it is the best salmon-fishing river on the north-east coast of Yezo. Herrings are also abundant, but not to the same extent as on the South-east Coast.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

leading my tired beast, and dragging him along as well as I could. Every few yards the wretched creature collapsed, and it took a lot of petting, caressing, encouraging and beating to make him get up again. I had ridden and walked about fourteen hours in the rain, and was nearly frozen to death.

Since I had got out of the forest a bitterly cold north wind chilled me through and through, and added the last touch to my weariness and discomfort. Again the pony fell, and all my efforts to make him get up were useless. The storm, if anything, seemed to increase in violence, while my own strength was decreasing every minute. I lay down by the side of the pony, trying to warm myself by his heat, and, shivering and rattling my teeth together, I tried to go to sleep.

A couple of hours were spent in this way, and when the moon rose I could see a little clearer. I climbed with hands and feet on to the sand-hills, and I fancied I saw some dark spots in the distance. Could they be Shari? First one end of my whip, then the other, was reduced into pulp on my pony's back, and with a great effort he again stood on all four legs. I had to support the wretch all the way, as you would a drunken man, and we went at the rate of less than a mile an hour. The spots grew bigger and bigger, and took the shape of huts.

"Hem, hem, hem, hem!" I called out at the first hut, while three or four dogs barked furiously and went for my legs. "Will you let a stranger sleep here to-night?"

"This is no house for strangers; go elsewhere!" answered a drowsy hoarse voice from inside.

"May you be kept —— hot!" said I, in pure Ainu fashion, though in my heart I attached quite a different meaning to the sentence from that which the hairy people give it; and wearily I pulled myself together and passed on.

A shadow crept out of one of the huts, and thanks to that shadow I found a shelter for the night. There are fifty Ainu huts at Shari, and ten Japanese, with an Ainu population of about one hundred souls. The Ainu here have adopted Japanese clothes, and many of them eat Japanese food when they can get it. The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few Ainu huts are scattered along the
coast, and some of them have peculiarly shaped storehouses. They are small, built entirely of wood, and roofed with shingles. Some have two floors, and in this case, though built on piles, the first floor is only a few inches above the ground. The "mat" was supplanted by a wooden door at the entrance of the storehouse.

The Abashiri cliffs are grand, and from a distance have all the appearance of, though they are not in reality, basaltic rocks. They are scarred, riven, and fractured in all directions, as if by excessive heat. The upper portion of the cliffs is of a beautiful grey-whitish colour, blending into yellow and red at their warm brown bases. The small cylindrical islet which I give in the illustration is on the north side of this cliff, and is of the same volcanic formation. It has certain traces of sulphur as a further evidence of its origin. Flocks of sea-gulls, penguins, and cormorants have chosen this island for their abode.

Abashiri is the only place on the north-east coast which may eventually be of some importance, as it has a fair anchorage for small craft under the lee of the islet and outstretching cliff. No other place on the north-east coast possesses such an advantage. On the Shiretoko Peninsula sulphur accumulations are found at Itashibeoni; but, unfortunately, the want of a safe harbour, the ruggedness of the coast, and the lack of drinkable water in the vicinity, are all facts which make it improbable that it could be worked with profit for some years to come. The Ainu at Abashiri are repulsive creatures, especially the men, and have more the appearance of wild beasts than human beings. Their faces are almost square, the mouth large, with narrow lips, the ends of which converge towards the ears. The nose is short and stumpy, they have very heavy eyebrows, and the eyes are almost lost under the shadow of their projecting forehead.

Ponies are scarce and bad along this coast, and the further north one goes the more difficult the travelling becomes; the huts are rarer; the human beings more uncouth and solitary. The north-east coast is a region of swamps, lagoons, and quicksand rivers.

Not far inland from Abashiri there is a large lagoon, the Abashiri-ko; then, a few miles further north, another as large

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

close to the sea. North of this river there are three more lagoons—the Komuki, the Shibumotzunai, and the Yassuchi, the first two of which have direct estuaries into the sea, generally blocked by drift-sand, and both are as dangerous as the Saruma lagoon when the water unexpectedly overflows. Owing to the heavy rains on the mountains the level of the lakes had risen considerably when I went through, and crossing the mouth of the first in a flat-bottomed boat, I was nearly swamped. The Ainu who was ferrying me across did not lose his presence of mind, and after a long struggle and violent efforts we reached the opposite shore. Yubets is a village of eighteen Ainu and three Japanese huts. The Ainu along these shores are extremely hairy, and some of them have red beards, while others are bald. Near some of their huts you may see cages where foxes and eagles are kept in captivity.

The women, all the way to Soya Cape, the most northern point of Yezo, have given up tattooing a long moustache and their arms. A small semicircular spot, similar to the tattoo of the Shari women, is nevertheless not uncommon. Bears, yellow and black, again are said to be in huge quantities on the thickly-wooded mountains at the back of the Saruma and other lagoons.

The coast is most desolate-looking. One may travel mile after mile without seeing a hut or meeting a single human being. Now and then, when I came to a lonely fisherman's hut, I was civilly treated; and, riding from morn till night, I reached Shari Mombets, where there are forty Ainu huts and about the same number of Japanese fishermen's shanties. It has a small anchorage for small junks only; but, unfortunately, it is not well protected, as the reef of rocks which runs in a north-east direction does not extend far out to sea. I was roughly treated here at first, for some Russian convicts, who had escaped from Sakhalin in an open boat, had been drifted by the current down this coast, and previously to my arrival had landed in the vicinity of this village. They were half starved, and could not speak a word of the language. They had no money and no clothes, and none of the natives seemed willing to help them in any way. Now that the long-wished-for freedom was obtained after years of servitude and chains,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

IT was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru, the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 Herrings are plentiful all along the coast, but fishing stations could not possibly pay, even if any were established, owing to the difficulty and expense of carriage and freight, and the risk that ships would run in calling at such exposed and unprotected shores.

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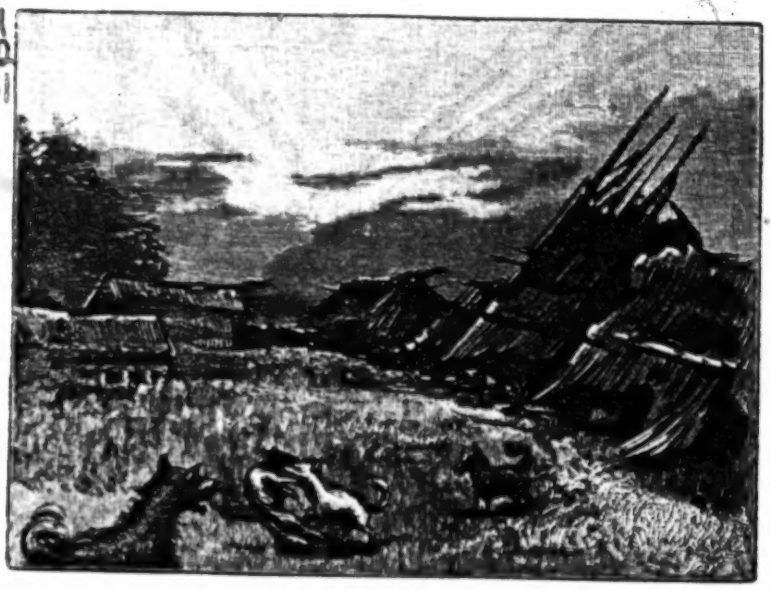
340
231



AINU VILLAGE ON THE EAST COAST OF YEZO.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[p. 179]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

On the western side of Cape Benke is the village of Masatomari. There were formerly some Ainu villages on this part of the coast, but hardly any natives are to be found now. The few remaining have adopted to a certain extent Japanese customs and manners.

At Baraputa I heard that it was impossible to continue my journey south on horseback along the coast, for the track was almost impassable, even on foot. It was a steep and difficult trail over the mountains, among rocks and precipitous cliffs, and I was quite unable to accomplish it; so I retraced my steps to Shitzo, and from there struck across the peninsula on the road for Oshamambe, on Volcano Bay. The road is a good one, and when bridges are built where needed it will be practicable for *bashas*, the four-wheeled vehicles of Southern Yezo. The way is across mountains or among well-wooded hills. Kuromatsunai is the largest group of houses found along the road. It is about halfway between the two coasts.

Late at night, after having ridden twenty-five miles, I arrived at Oshamambe, a semi-Ainu village on Volcano Bay.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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241
177
771

INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621
[594]
[162]
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The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621
423
[184]

A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226
796
621
[774]

Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224
825
796

Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

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It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613]
[622]
[114]

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30–50 m. by 50–100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59–60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880–85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Mpseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Otopuke Valley.

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R.G.	S.I.G.		Settlement Group	Numbe of Houses
		L.G.	Naitai	2
			Meto	1
			Rucha	1
			Wop	3
			Ichampet	2
			Kamaune	1
		L.G.	Nipushipet	3
			Mokenashi	1
			Ochirushi	2
			Shikaripetputu	2

Satnai Valley.

R.G.	S.I.G.		Settlement Group	Number of Houses
		L.G.	Nupokomap	9
		L.G.	Munhunki	3
		L.G.	Urekarip	3

R.G. River Group
S.I.G. *Shine Itokpa* Group
L.G. Local Group

361
621 The Settlement.

Families settled together and formed a *kotan*, the Ainu settlement. In the Otopuke valley several *kotans* consisted each of only one family. The number of houses or households constituting a *kotan* varied from one to more than ten, usually less than ten. This was also the case with the Ainu settlement even in 1857-58[10].

[103] The material aspect. The *kotan* was usually named after the stream near which it was situated. Sites for *kotans* were chosen with a view to proximity to sources of drinking water and fishing and hunting grounds. The most important factor was usually the spawning beds of dog salmon. The spawning beds were well developed and aggregated into concentrations in the main stream near the junctions of tributary streams and the *kotan* itself was usually situated on the terrace of the river near the spawning ground. The distance between two adjacent *kotans* would vary from about 2 to more than 8 kms., the average being 4-8 kms. The families of a *kotan* were not concentrated in a cluster of houses but rather were scattered and often semi-isolated. The distance between dwelling houses next to each other varied from ca. 100 m. to 500 and some might be even farther away.

621 The social aspect. Each *kotan* group was called by the name of the *kotan*,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning
[421] beds of dog salmon (pp. 60–62), group participation in certain rituals such as
[622] the salmon ceremony (pp. 72–73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880–85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups,
184 a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than
361 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group,
184 though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male householeads and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan (or utaru) spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
221 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp. 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[362] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[237] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Jap-
[439] anese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensis.[33]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

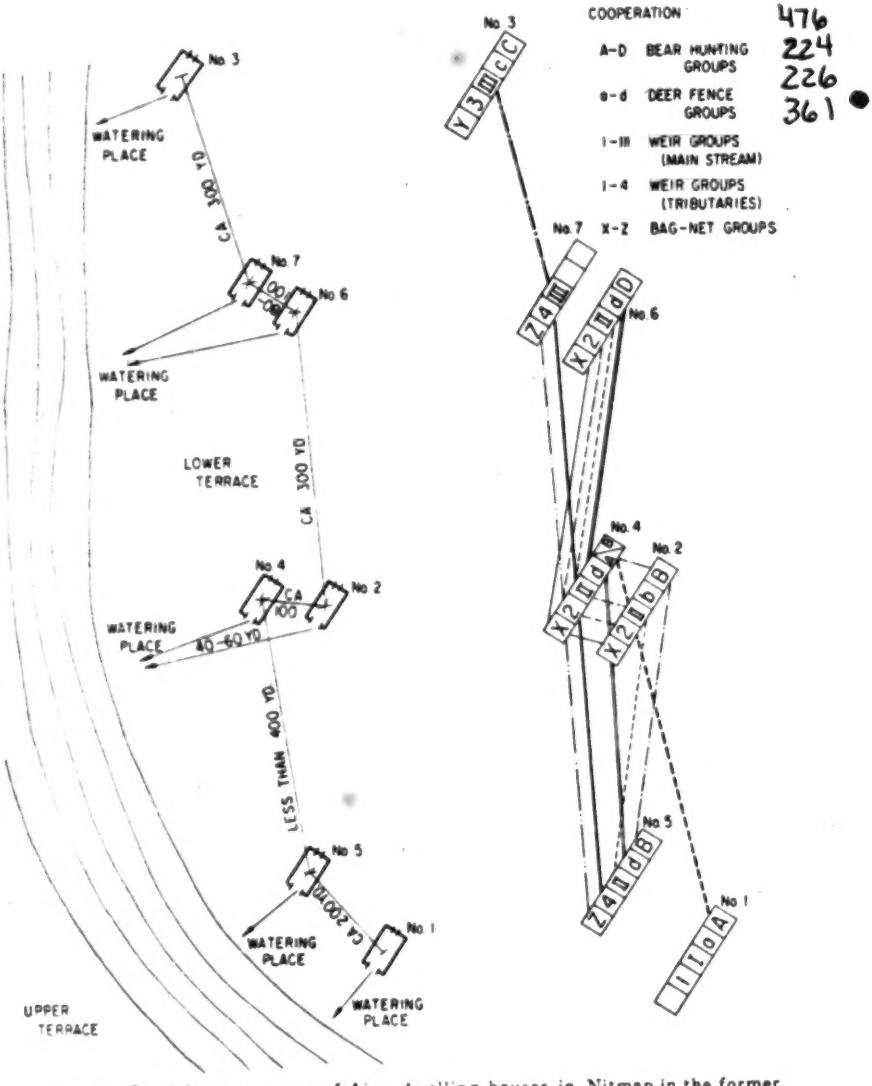

Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses in Nitmap in the former half of the 1880's and cooperation between the households. The house numbers correspond to those given in the chart on cooperative groups in Nitmap in Chapter IV. The numbers are given in order of birth among the household heads who are full siblings.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu*, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the [361] junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a) The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

[p.79]

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group
● [361] exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain-huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next
614 to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley
619 as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more
[186] at most *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon. 105 619

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them. 105 182

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices. 105 476 [592]

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman. 105 361 311

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons. 105 423 619

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71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards. At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses contained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts, to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Although the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabulated as follows:

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Azuma River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
10	Azuma	1800	Some officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Nambu clan immigrated to the coastal area.
		1870	An immigrant to the coast.
		1881	First immigrant to the interior.
		1887	Second immigrant to the interior.
		1888	The Ainu in the area were brought together to live in a new settlement, given instruction in agricultural technique.

Mukawa River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
11	Mukawa	1875	A family came to settle, engaged in fishing and running a hotel business.
		1882	First immigrants as farmers: some families.

Saru River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
12	Hiratori	1870	First immigrants: 2 officials as agricultural instructors. Immigrants subsequently came after them.
		1880	Establishment of a public office at the coastal settlement, Sarufuto.
		1899	Japanese houses totaled 300 or more; total population of the Japanese immigrants about 2000.
13	Hitaka	1905	First immigrant; a man.
		1907	Second immigrants: 3 men.

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For the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in the days of gathering activities, HABARA quotes from 'Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin' (The Former Natives of Hokkaido) published by the Hokkaido Government: "The Ainu combine a few to a dozen houses in a settlement and live scattered over wide areas" (HABARA, 1939, p. 73). TAKAKURA remarks: "An Ainu community used to be extremely small-sized. Tokunai Mogami in "Yezo Zōshi" (A Story-Book of Yezo) (1790) writes: 'In Yezo a settlement is composed of no more than five to seven houses. Ten houses is considered a large one, which is very rare.' "Yezo-Zakki Yakusetu" (Translations from Miscellaneous Foreign Works on Yezo translated by Teiyu BABA at the order of the Naga-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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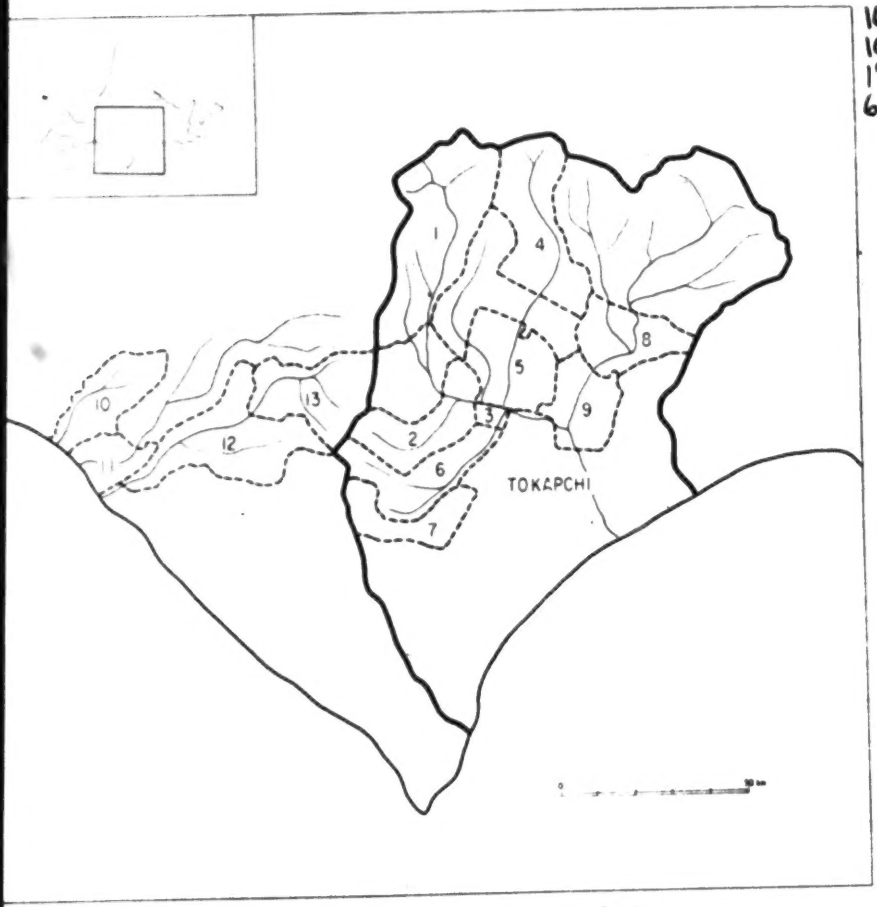

Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart.[1]

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saki magistrate, published in 1809), vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras (ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondo Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six

1. [For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

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175 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty
361 houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

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Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Ikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukeshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

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(The river forked here into two streams)			
Aneshum	6		
Nutabeto	3		
Urahoroputo	2		
Obekkohashi	9		
Betumoshiri	3		Being a ferry station at the river mouth.
Osaushi	11		Located by a Japanese seine-fishing ground.
Ootunai			A Japanese fishing and trading post near the river mouth.

Shikaripet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

16 houses in total

Otopuke River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

21 houses in total

Tushipet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi

27 houses in total

Ashoro River, a tributary of the Tushipet

13 houses in total

Azuma River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ofumusenai	3	
Tonika	5	Plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Shinai	5	
Kimunkotan	10	Many cultivated plots.
Funawatashi (named in Japanese meaning a ferry station)	3	The most downstream Ainu settlement located near the estuary.

Mukawa River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ninatumi	5	
Hattaruse	4	
(No name described)	6	

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Hohetufuto	15	Ainu houses continuously distributed crossing over small streams adjacent to each other, the Wennai, the Toyomanai, and the Yukoronai.
(No name described)	6	Located near Shufushinai.
Kaikuma	6	
Shittekinai (Ruheshibe)	4	
Kinaushi	8	
(No name mentioned)	2	
Ocharusenai (Ruheshibe)	3	
Ichimifu	6	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Niwan	6	
Kinaushi	5	
Yukhetu	8	
Kirikachi	4	
Osannefu	1	
Morhetu	7	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Kaanai	4	
Kenashoro	4	
Impoppe	6	
Chin	10	
Mukawaputo	4	Located near the estuary. A ferry- and rest-station along the coast-road linking Japanese fishing posts.

Saru River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Horosaru (Porosaru)	22	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Osatnai	20	
Penakori	11	
Kankan	3	
Bihaushi (Pipaushi)	15	Cultivated plots.
Nifutani (Niputani)	27	
Hiratori (Piratori)	31	
Saraha (Sarupa)	19	
Shumunkotu	30†	Many cultivated plots.
Hitaraba (Pitarupa)	3	
Biraka (Piraka)	24	Cultivated plots. The most downstream settlement.

Nukabira River, a tributary of the Saru

Nukkehetu (Nukkipet)	9	House number not described.
Niyoi	5	
Shikerehe		

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Ishikari River

The main stream (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Wenbetsu	5	
Asakara	1 (or 2?)	
Kinkushibetu	2	Each represented by an old woman.
Ochinkaba	1	
Mem	5	Each of two of the houses represented by an old woman.
Betchiushi	6	
Ijan	3	
Betubara	2	
Tokufuto	2	Cultivated plots.
Tuishikari	1 at least	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
Ishikari		Japanese fishing and trading post "unjoya" near the estuary.
Yuhari River, a tributary of the Ishikari		
Taikeshi	3	Cultivated plots.
Tapkofu	1	Cultivated plots.
Shikot River, a tributary of the Yuhari		
Osakmanai	5	
Nunnai	2	
Orokkochi	4	
Ruen	3	
Besa (Pesa)	5	
Rankoushi	3	
Chitose (name in Japanese)	15	An Ainu settlement by a Japanese fishing and trading post. Cultivated plots.
Osat	9	
Isarifuto	7	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
(Along the Isari, a small tributary)	9 in total	Many cultivated plots.
Shumamafuto	1	Situated near a Japanese rest-house.

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Teshio River (in ascending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
The estuary			A Japanese fishing and trading post, "unjoya".
Teutohitara	1	2	
Toinotafu	1	8	
Aheshinai	3	2, 3, 3	
Tonbeppo	2	6, 7	
Otoinefu	1	5	
Okurumatomanai	1	12	
Henkeniubu	2	2, 4	
Nayorofuto (Naibuto)	2	3, 5	At the junction of the Nayoro R.
(The river forked here into two streams)			
Main Stream:			
Kenefuchi	1	9	
Utu	3	4, 4, 4	One of the houses represented by an old woman.
Kunkattekkuru	3	4, 6, 8	
Sattekuhetu	3	3, 3, 4	
Nayoro River:			
Chirusushi	2	2, 5	
Henkekiushi-hitara	1	7	
Chinomi	2	2, 6	
Kamuicham	1	4	
Toushumakomanai	2	3, 5	
Shufunuto	1	7	

Kusuri (Kushiro) River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Kutcharo	9	Located by Kutcharo Lake.
Teshikaka	8	One of them represented by an old woman.
Kumaushi	1	
Tohro	16	Located by Lake Tohro near the coastal plain.
Kusuri		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the estuary.

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Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups. [621] [622]

(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59). [622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that [114]

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241 175 114 (39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory. Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in the Fith Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduction from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however, indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSUURA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58, recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techniques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

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361 (40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site.... The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places" (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and reconstructions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is

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Nor is there any proof of nomadic wanderings without fixed habitation, although they had the habit of seasonal migrations from fixed homes to fixed huts for hunting or fishing. As regards seasonal migrations among the Ainu, an inference has been made of those between inland dwellings for summer and seaside dwellings for winter (ibid., pp. 112-113); a report has been made also of migrations of male members of each family in the home settlement to mountain huts in winter, to seaside huts in summer and to riverside fishing-huts in autumn (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 214 and 229). In either case, no attempt was made to analyze the mechanism of migrations or the relationship between them and the community activities in general.

In the earlier stage of his field survey the author made a report that, as far as the inland Ainu were concerned, there is no trace of seasonal migrations ever taking place between the inland and the coasts except for labour migrations by some to Japanese-owned fishing grounds (Notes 6 and 9) and seasonal visitings for trading purposes; that, shortly after the land allotments, some male members of certain coastal settlement families migrated in spring and autumn to their seaside fishing huts in order to occupy themselves exclusively in stretch-rope fishing (WATANABE, 1955; Note 53). Later investigations have increasingly convinced the writer that, save for the labour migrations to Japanese fisheries, no seasonal migrations to the coasts were attempted by inland Ainus. As for the coastal Ainu, on the other hand, only fragmentary information has been obtained for the period subsequent to the land allotments. As regards the inland Ainu at least, their seasonal migrations to fishing huts on the inland waters were in no way a general phenomenon. In the upper Tokapchi area, for instance, a section of the family members of its settlements had a habit of migrating each summer to huts for cherry salmon fishing on one of the tributets (p. 27); but no such group habits are observable among the neighbouring lower settlement group or any of the upper Otopuke or upper Azuma settlement groups. Again, in dog-salmon fishing, usually practised in the main streams near each settlement, there is no instance from any river valley of regular group migrations to such fishing sites and of erection there of fishing huts to pass the season in. Huts were sometimes built in relation to their fishing activities in main streams; however, those were usually for the purpose of taking rest or warming by turns on weir fishing or net-trap fishing which was usually done at night. In fact some members of certain individual families made fishing expeditions going a long distance from their settlement and staying the season out. But those are exceptional cases as far as dog salmon fishing is concerned (p. 64). It might be concluded that seasonal migrations common to all the inland Ainu groups investigated by the present writer were only those undertaken by certain members of families to their hunting huts in the hills and mountains.

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Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them.

43 Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azumā valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

44 1) Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2) Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

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Only a few families of the *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

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that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku*(*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance.

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136).

(59) The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement.

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper

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seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA, 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

(60) The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*, set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

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Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed.

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

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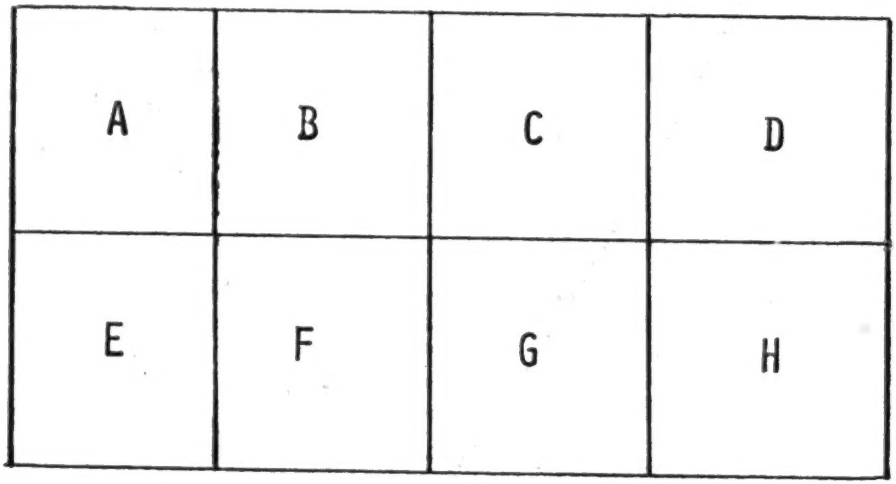
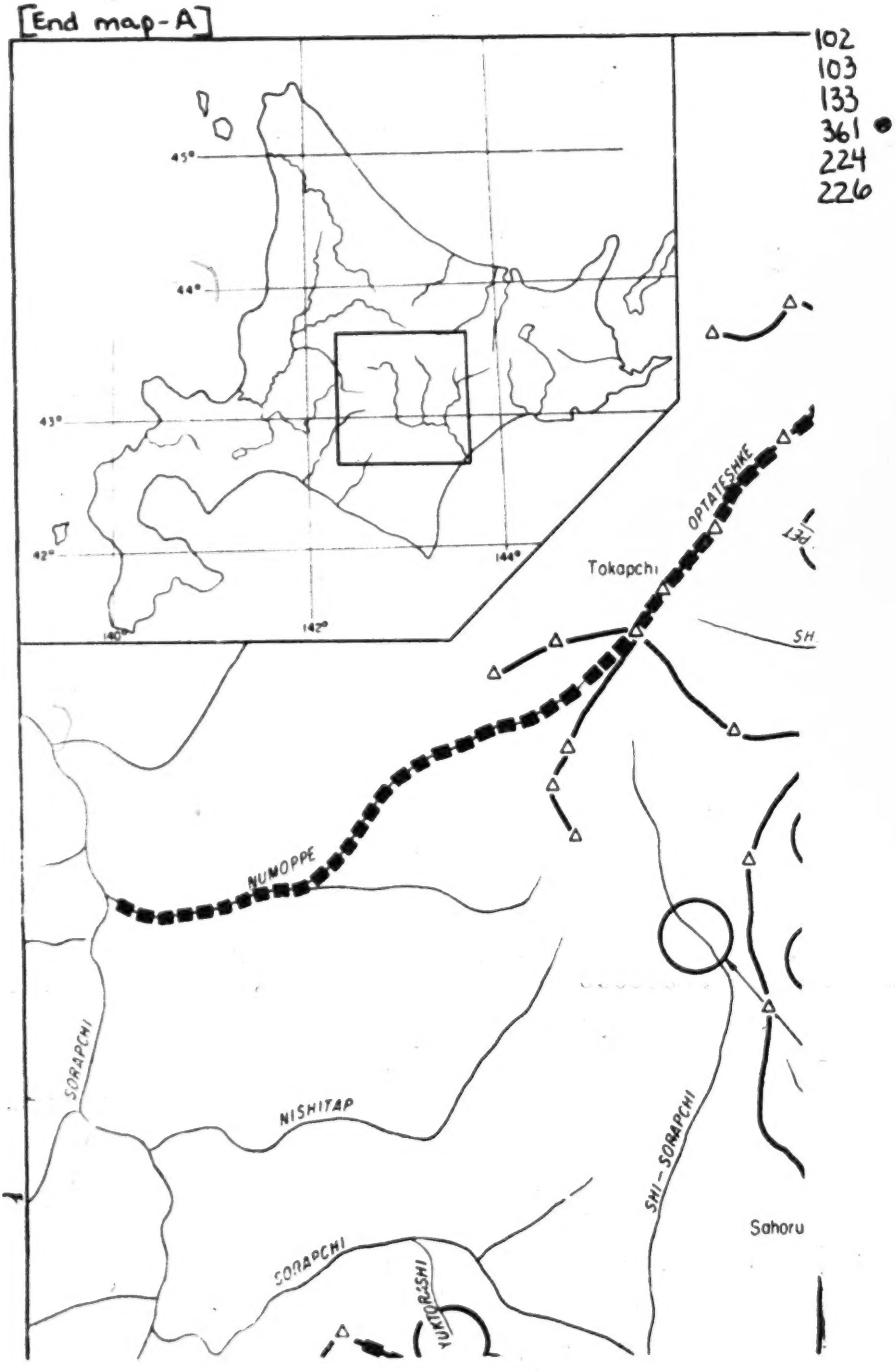


Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



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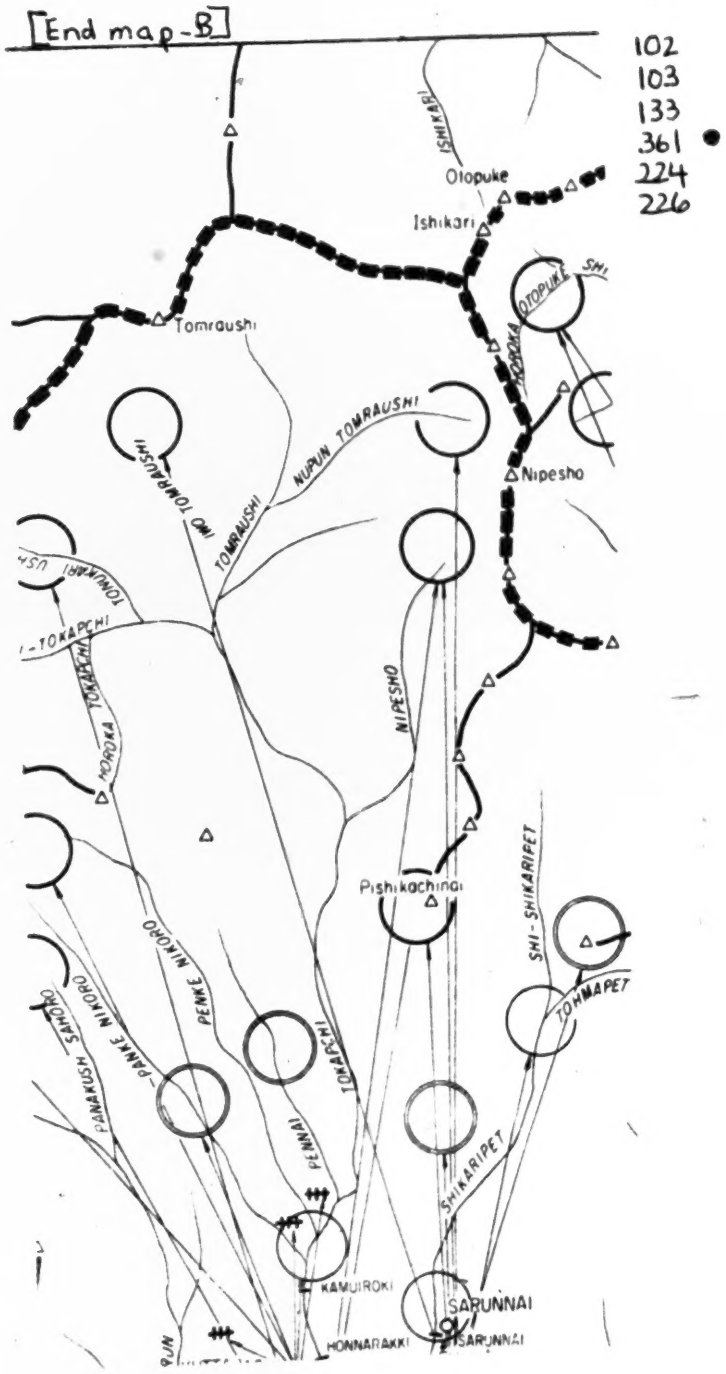

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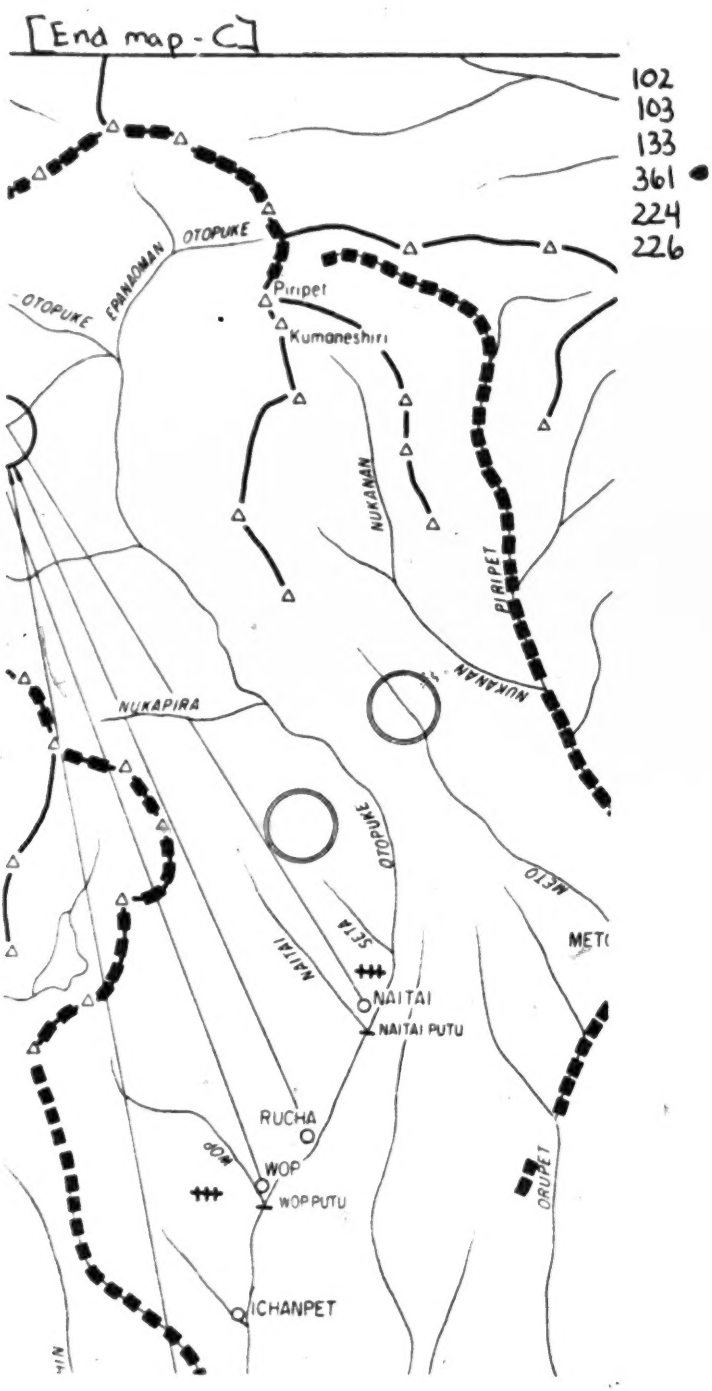
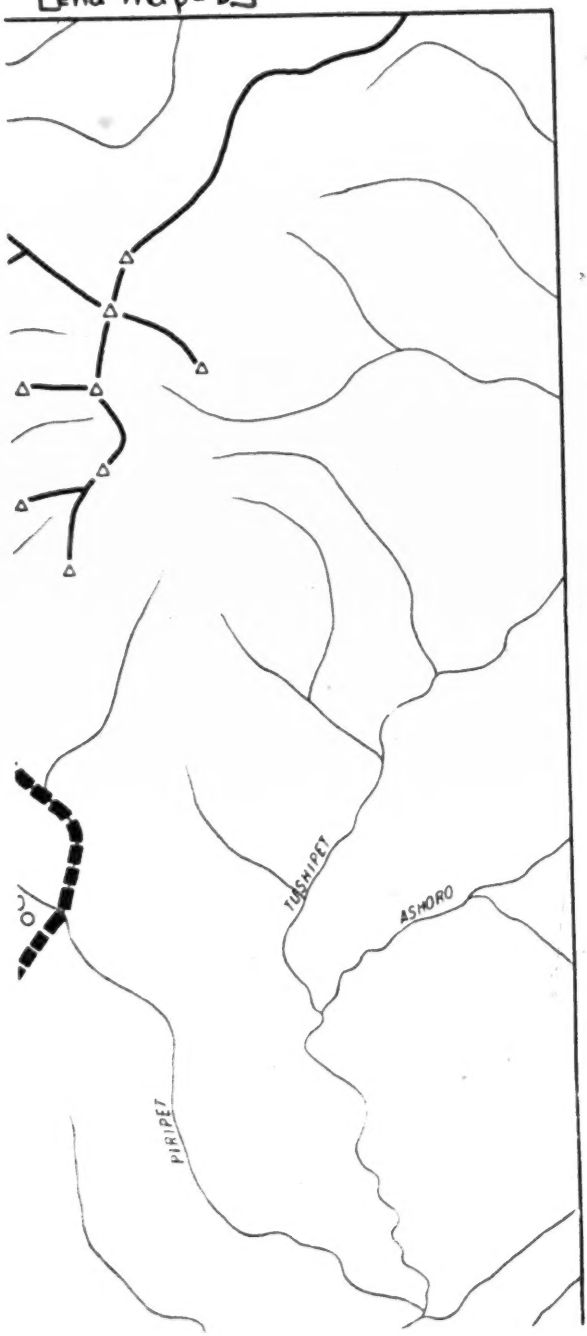


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



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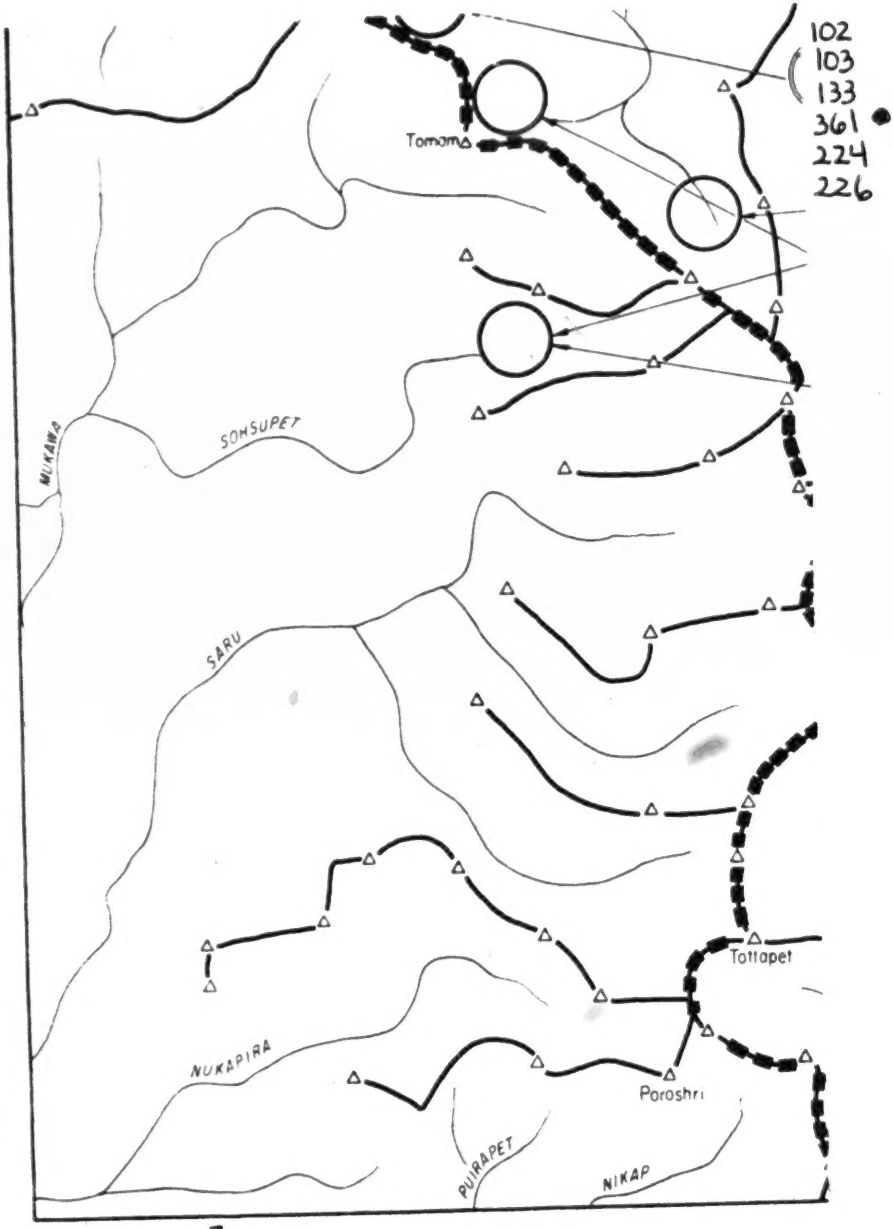
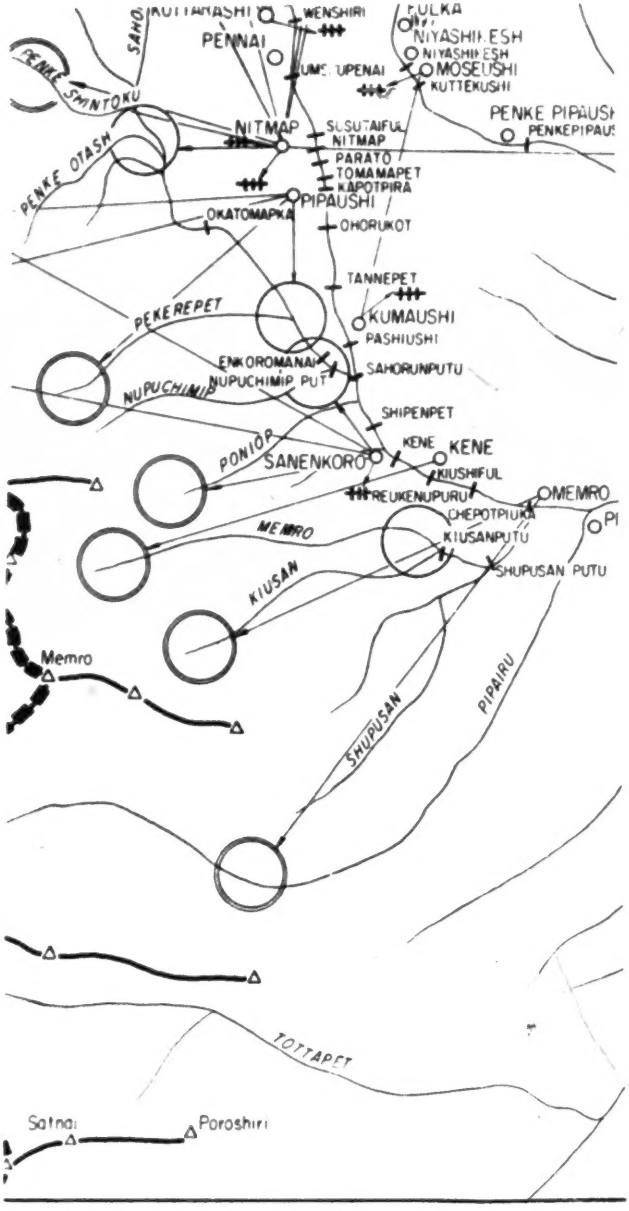


[End map-E]

Map. 2.

11: **Watanabe** E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



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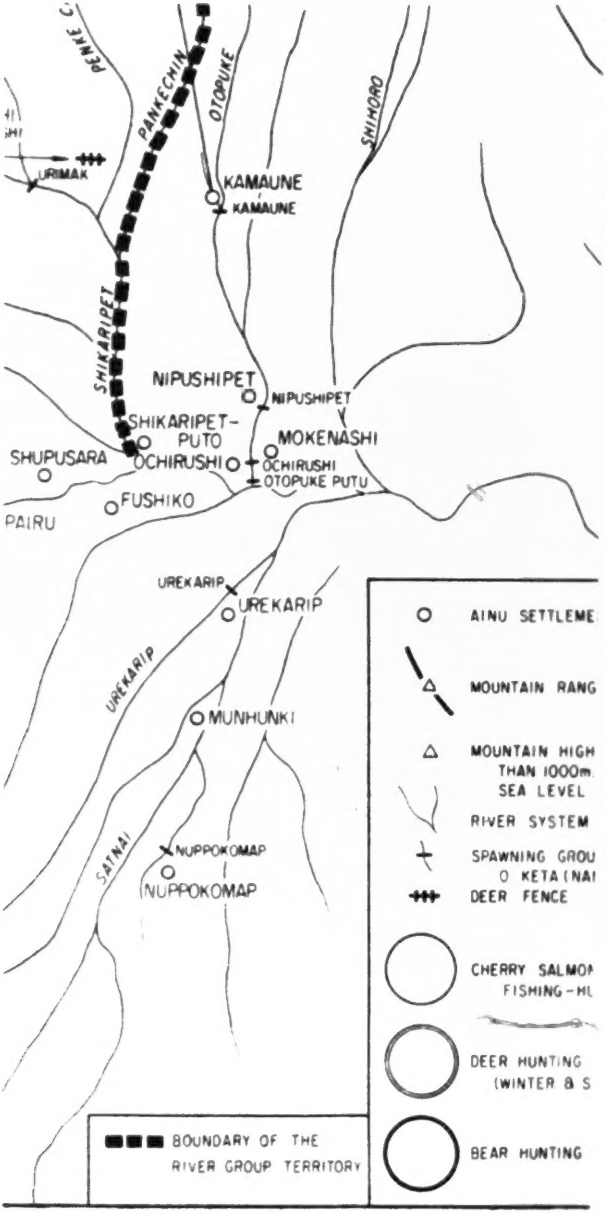
Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]



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er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

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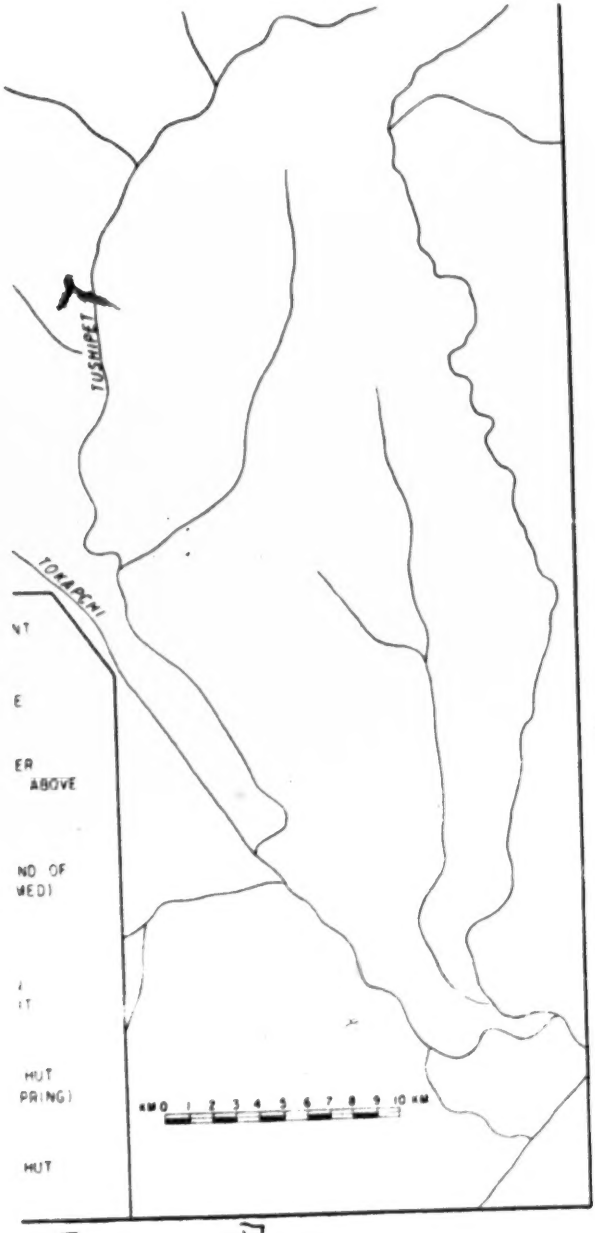

[End map-H]

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly Gi A 101 separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On A G 101 162 the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told 361 me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely 103 Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was A G 103 361 inhabited half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

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place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with G 361 the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

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1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113 /17 cont./ 1. (cont.) south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

A [114]

G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

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2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

G Gi A 101 361

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

G Gi A [113]

G Gi A 101 361

/17 cont./

on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A G Gi 101

Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

A 361 114 101 114 [113]

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A Gi 101 /17 cont./ dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These relationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A 131 Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. Moreover, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people A [101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming A ● 361 from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first A [131] in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one

A [113] [114] [103]

1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

361 [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

361 131 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 131 167 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

[113] 2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 131 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113] 3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

FJ 175 636 36 [113]

/76 cont./

4. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106. A. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 4).

traveled on the island (1860), he found that the Japanese had already advanced along the west coast to the boundary of the Ainu territory proper. Their northernmost settlement was in Ustomonaipu in the Bay d'Estaing, but their fisheries extended even farther to the north, for in Urotzi he saw a large warehouse for salted salmon, which had been erected by them, and still farther beyond that, north of the Ainu village of Orokes on Cape Chazkopespo, he met Japanese who had erected a bark hut for a temporary stay and were engaged in collecting and drying seatang, Laminaria esculenta (5). Orokes, however,

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A [361] [104] [161]

5. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 73-77.

as we saw above (6), is the northernmost village with a pure Ainu

6. See above, p. 32.

population; to the north of it there is a rather desolate coastal stretch which separates the Ainu area from that of the Gilyak, and beyond this, beginning with Pilja-wo, there are villages with a mixed population of Gilyak and Ainu, in which the latter can only be regarded as isolated here because of the Japanese. /77/ Thus, as early as 1860 the Japanese had reached their goal along the west coast of Sakhalin, if they did not also intend to expand into Gilyak territory.

Only a little later they obtained the same position on the east coast. In 1860 their northernmost point there was Mogunkotan (1). During the summer of 1861 they already occupied

1. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 20.

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/452 cont./

2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

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After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

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The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

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361 133 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the 226 262 [361] Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak, this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance. 226 648 464 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally, also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

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1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).